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Discussing al-Bāqillānī's Theology in the Maghrib: 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī Bakr al-Dībājī al-Raba'ī's *al-Tasdīd fī sharḥ al-Tamhīd*

Discusiones sobre la teología de al-Bāqillānī en
el Magreb: el *Tasdīd fī sharḥ al-Tamhīd* de 'Abd al-Ŷalīl
b. Abī Bakr al-Dībāyī al-Raba'ī

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This paper presents a unique manuscript copy of a fifth/eleventh-century Maghribī commentary on al-Bāqillānī's *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*. The work, entitled *al-Tasdīd fī sharḥ al-Tamhīd*, was written by 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī Bakr al-Dībājī —also known as Ibn al-Šābūnī— who had studied the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* with al-Bāqillānī's disciples in Qayrawān. The present study first reviews the transmission of al-Bāqillānī's work to the Islamic west. It then continues to present the author of the commentary, to reconstruct the work's genesis and to describe its content. The final section focuses on a sample chapter and argues that al-Dībājī follows al-Bāqillānī's later position on a specific theory —the so-called theory of *aḥwāl*— of which the *Tamhīd* strongly disapproved. The *Tasdīd* is one of the oldest texts of Maghribī Ash'arism that has come down to us and provides valuable new insights into the school's early history in the Islamic west.

Key words: theology; Ash'arism; Maghrib; Qayrawān; al-Bāqillānī; al-Dībājī; *aḥwāl*.

En este artículo presentamos un manuscrito único de un comentario magrebí del *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* de al-Bāqillānī datado en el siglo V/XI. La obra se titula *al-Tasdīd fī sharḥ al-Tamhīd* escrita por 'Abd al-Ŷalīl b. Abī Bakr al-Dībāyī —también conocido como Ibn al-Šābūnī— quien estudió el *Tamhīd* con otros discípulos de al-Bāqillānī en Qayrawān. El presente estudio revisa el proceso de transmisión de la obra de al-Bāqillānī en el Occidente Islámico. Después continúa presentando al autor del comentario, reconstruyendo la génesis del texto y describiendo su contenido. La sección final escoge un capítulo del texto que se ha seleccionado para demostrar cómo al-Dībāyī sigue la posición tardía de al-Bāqillānī con respecto a la llamada teoría de los *aḥwāl*—duramente criticada en el *Tamhīd*. El *Tasdīd* constituye uno de los textos más antiguos del aś'arismo magrebí que ha llegado hasta nosotros, ofreciéndonos nuevas y valiosas perspectivas sobre la historia de esta escuela teológica en el Occidente islámico.

Palabras clave: Teología; Aś'arismo; Magreb; Qayrawān; al-Bāqillānī; al-Dībāyī; *aḥwāl*.

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I.

In this article, we discuss a unique copy of a North African commentary upon the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* by the major Ash‘arite theologian Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013). The manuscript belongs to the collection of the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul (MS Yazma Bağışlar no. 1885) and has as yet almost escaped scholarly attention.¹ As we will be showing in the following, the author of the text can be identified as ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī Bakr al-Dībājī, who is otherwise known as Ibn al-Šābūnī. Al-Dībājī was a representative of the fifth/eleventh-century scholarly milieu of the city of Qayrawān, the earliest intellectual centre in the Maghrib under Muslim rule. One aim of this article is to examine this scholar’s rather little known biography and intellectual lineage.

Al-Dībājī’s commentary is a centrally important document for the history of *kalām* in the Maghrib, because it is one of the oldest theological texts from the emerging western Islamic strand of Ash‘arism that has come down to us.² We will therefore not limit ourselves to reconstructing the historical setting in which our source was written. Although it will not be possible to offer a comprehensive analysis of the entire work, we will nevertheless select some specific discussions from the text for a somewhat deeper examination. In particular, we will focus on al-Dībājī’s treatment of the so-called theory of *aḥwāl*, and we will ask to what extent he was inclined to doctrines that al-Bāqillānī still rejected in the *Tamhīd* and only came to develop in such later works as the fragmentarily conserved *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*. The theory of *aḥwāl* was highly controversial in early Ash‘arite *kalām*. Given the few number of surviving texts written by theologians of this school down to the era of Abū l-Ma‘ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085), a contemporary of al-Dībājī, the text presented here therefore adds to our knowledge about such controversial discussions, and is consequently of great interest for the school’s early history.

¹ To the best of our knowledge, the manuscript is only mentioned in GAS, vol. 1, p. 609, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *Kitāb al-‘umr fī l-muṣannafāt wa-l-mu‘allifīn al-tūnisiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 391, Hassan Ansari’s article “al-Bāqillānī” in *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 4, p. 359 and Zahrī, *al-Maṣādir al-Maghribiyya li-l-‘aqida al-Ash‘ariyya*, vol. 1, pp. 106-107.

² Apart from the commentary discussed in this article, the only work we possess from the same generation of Maghribī Ash‘arites is a much shorter creed (‘*‘aqida*’) by al-Dībājī’s contemporary Abū Bakr al-Murādī (edited as ‘*Aqīdat Abī Bakr al-Murādī*’).

The fact that al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd* was subject to commentary in fifth/eleventh-century Qayrawān appears to be no coincidence. Rather, this relates fully to the narrative of historical sources. According to these accounts, the teaching of Ash'arite doctrines in the Islamic west began with several disciples of al-Bāqillānī, a leading representative of the school's third generation, and chief judge of the Mālikite school of law in Baghdad. A number of these students settled in the North African city after their teacher's death.³ Qayrawān was at that time the capital of the Zīrids, a Berber dynasty that had ruled over Ifrīqiya since 361/972 as allies of the Cairo-based Fātimids. Yet by the first half of the fifth/eleventh century, the Zīrid state had entered an existential crisis whilst its sphere of influence steadily diminished. From the south-east, the state was gradually losing its territories to Arab nomads, most importantly the Banū Hilāl. These camel-herding tribes increasingly competed with the inhabitants of the southern Zīrid state for land and pastures. In 443/1052 an attempt to repulse these nomads by military force failed. After defeating the Zīrid troops, the Hilālians advanced to Qayrawān. The city was besieged and finally plundered in 449/1057.⁴ With the fall of Qayrawān, scholars, including Ash'arite theologians, fled westwards and found patronage under the Hammādids and the Almoravids. These two dynasties promoted the teaching of Ash'arism and contributed to its dissemination up to the scholarly centres of al-Andalus.⁵

Along with the penetration of Ash'arism to the Islamic west, the *Tamhīd* travelled via North Africa to the Iberian peninsula. The current picture of the work's transmission is primarily based on a study by José Maria Fórneas, that relies on information found in the *Fihris* of the Granadan *qāḍī* 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ibn 'Aṭīyya (d. 542/1147).⁶ In this work,

³ Idris, "Essai sur la diffusion". See also the recent study by Naṣīr, "Dawr al-Bāqillānī fī talqīn al-asānīd al-Ash'ariyya".

⁴ For the historical context in Zīrid Ifrīqiya see Brett, "The Central Lands of North Africa and Sicily" and the collected papers in Brett, *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib*. Brett revises the traditional narrative, according to which the Banū Hilāl were sent by the Fātimids as a reaction to the Zīrids' recognition of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in 440/1048-9.

⁵ Lagardère, "Une théologie dogmatique"; Serrano Ruano, "Los almorávides y la teología aš'arī".

⁶ Fórneas Besteiro, "*Al-Tamhīd* de al-Bāqillānī" based on Ibn 'Aṭīyya, *Fihris*, pp. 62, 76-77, 95; for the transmitters of the *Tamhīd* see also Fierro, *Historia de los autores y transmisores Andalusies*, part IV. Dogmática. Polémica religiosa, *passim*, retrieved from: http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/hata_kohepocu (henceforth HATA). Fórneas Besteiro's sources

Ibn ‘Aṭīyya provides five chains of transmission for the *Tamhīd*. They relate that the text was introduced into study circles of Ash‘arite theology by al-Bāqillānī’s own students, who came to teach in the Maghrib. In Qayrawān the *Tamhīd* was taught by Abū ‘Imrān al-Fāsī (d. 429/1037 or 430/1039), who was of Maghribī origin and studied with al-Bāqillānī whilst travelling to the east, and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Azdī (d. 423/1031-2) —or more probably al-Adharī (as we argue in the Appendix)— who most likely hailed from north-western Persia and was educated at various places in the Mashriq. An additional direct transmission of the *Tamhīd* to al-Andalus via one of al-Bāqillānī’s students is also recorded in Ibn ‘Aṭīyya’s work: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Khāzin al-Tibrīzī (d. after 424/1032) was a Baghdadi scholar who came to al-Andalus in 420/1029 and taught his teacher’s *Tamhīd*.

Apart from Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, the Andalusī biographical literature contains further reports about students and transmitters of the *Tamhīd*. Yet, as in the case of al-Rāḍī b. al-Mu‘tamad, the son of the last ‘Abbādid caliph al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād (d. 488/1095),⁷ and Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ṣadaḥī (d. 514/1120),⁸ the sources sometimes simply speak of the transmission of the body of “al-Bāqillānī’s books” without further specification. There are further accounts that are even more equivocal, such as the one in al-Ghubrīnī’s (d. 714/1315) *Unwān al-dirāya*: he provides a chain of transmission for “the book by al-Bāqillānī” (*kitāb al-imām Abī Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Khaṭīb [sic!] al-Bāqillānī*). It was suggested that the “book” should be identified with the *Tamhīd*. The re-

furthermore record the transmission of al-Bāqillānī’s *al-Risāla al-ḥurra* —an alternative title for *al-Inṣāf fī mā yajibu ‘tiqādu-hu wa-lā yajūzu l-jahl bi-hi*. An additional important source for the circulation of al-Bāqillānī’s writings in the fifth/eleventh-century Islamic west are the works of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who cites *al-Intiṣār fī l-Qur‘ān*, *al-Risāla al-ḥurra* and *Madhāhib al-Qarāmiṭa* (for details see Schmidtke, “Ibn Ḥazm’s Sources on Ash‘arism and Mu‘tazilism”, pp. 384-386). The title *Madhāhib al-Qarāmiṭa* refers to al-Bāqillānī’s *Kaṣf al-asrār fī l-radd ‘alā l-Bāṭiniyya*, as is confirmed by a recently discovered manuscript of the latter work (see our forthcoming “Al-Bāqillānī’s *Kaṣf al-asrār*: An Early Ash‘arite Refutation of Ismā‘īlī and Hellenizing Philosophy”). Furthermore, al-Bāqillānī’s *l’jāz al-Qur‘ān* circulated in the fifth/eleventh-century Islamic west, as is evidenced by a manuscript in Maghribī script copied in 423/1032 and preserved in MS El Escorial 1435 (a facsimile of fol. 125a with the copyist’s colophon is found in the introduction [p. 114] of Saqr’s edition of the work).

⁷ Adang, “The Spread of Zāhirism”, p. 312; Schmidtke, “Ibn Ḥazm’s Sources on Ash‘arism and Mu‘tazilism”, p. 385, note 52.

⁸ Fórneas Besteiro, “*Al-Tamhīd* de al-Bāqillānī”, p. 435; Lagardère, “Une théologie dogmatique”, p. 86; Schmidtke, “Ibn Ḥazm’s Sources on Ash‘arism and Mu‘tazilism”, p. 385, note 52 relying on Ibn al-Abbār, *Mu‘jam*, p. 24.

port is noteworthy because one of the transmitters in this chain is Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148), a student of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and one of the most prominent Ashʿarites of al-Andalus.⁹

The transmission of the *Tamhīd* in the Islamic west is further evidenced by extant manuscript copies of the text. A complete codex produced in Shaʿbān 472/1080 for the library of the *tāʾifa* king of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Ibn Aḥṣa (d. 487/1094 or 488/1095), has survived in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 6090.¹⁰ In addition, a much later fragment of the *Tamhīd*, that previously belonged to the Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī (r. 1171-1204/1757-1790), is nowadays in the possession of the library of the Great Mosque in Mīknās (ms 266).¹¹

Chains of transmission and surviving manuscript copies are however not the only sources for the study of the *Tamhīd*'s dissemination in the Islamic west: commentaries, such as the one to be examined in this article, can convey an even more precise picture of the transmission of its source text. They can, for example, be the product of a student's notes from a lecture or they may result from individual study. Whatever the specific setting of their genesis was, commentaries disclose information about scholarly discussions, whenever they attempt to clarify or critically assess arguments, and they consequently offer additional insight into the context in which a given text was transmitted and debated.

The *Tasdīd* presented in this article appears to be the only surviving commentary on al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd*. Yet we possess information about an additional commentary produced in the Islamic west: an inventory of the library holdings of the Great Mosque in Qayrawān from the year 693/1293-4 records a commentary in two parts under the two alternative titles *Taʿlīqat al-Tamhīd* and *al-Sadād fī uṣūl al-dīn* written by an anonymous author.¹²

⁹ Idris, "Essai sur la diffusion", p. 137; Fórneas Besteiro, "*Al-Tamhīd* de al-Bāqillānī", p. 438 relying on al-Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-dirāya*, pp. 395-396.

¹⁰ See Lagardère, "Une théologie dogmatique", p. 85; Schmidtké, "Ibn Ḥazm's Sources on Ashʿarism and Muʿtazilism", p. 385, note 52; HATA IV, no. 68.1; for a description of the Paris manuscript see McCarthy's Arabic introduction to al-Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd*, pp. 26-27.

¹¹ The manuscript remains unidentified in the catalogue of the Mīknās collection (al-Bar-rāq, *Fihris al-makḥṭūʿāt*, p. 162, no. 292); the fragment covers pp. 123, l. 10-367, l. 2 (the last folio is misplaced and corresponds to pp. 247, l. 15-250, l. 17) of the McCarthy 1957 edition.

¹² Shabbūh, "Sijil", pp. 364, no. 77 and 367, no. 111. In addition, the *qāḍī* ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149) reports in his *al-Ghunya* that Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad

II.

A number of details from the above narrative about the Maghribī transmission of al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd* are actually echoed in the *Tasdīd fī sharḥ al-Tamhīd*. Much of this is first-hand information of what has as yet been known only via later secondary reports. This makes the *Tasdīd* —which to the best of our knowledge is nowhere attested in historical testimonies— a highly valuable source for the early history of Maghribī Ash'arism. But who was the author of this text? On the title page of the unique manuscript copy, the work is attributed to the *qāḍī* Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī Bakr al-Rabā'ī (fol. 1a). Internal textual evidence, presented below in more detail, allows us to identify the author as the fifth/eleventh-century theologian and legal methodologist Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī Bakr al-Rabā'ī al-Qarawī al-Dībājī, also known as Ibn al-Šābūnī.¹³

Several biographical and bibliographical works from the Islamic west contain information about the life and works of al-Dībājī. The

b. al-Muslim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī al-Šiqillī al-Māzarī (d. 530/1105) had authorised him to transmit his work entitled *Kitāb Ta'yīd al-Tamhīd wa-taqyīd al-tajrīd* (see al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya*, p. 88; also recorded in HATA IV. Dogmática no. 148.7). Al-Māzarī was a well known Ash'arite author from al-Andalus, who also wrote a commentary in several volumes on al-Juwaynī's *al-Irshād* entitled *al-Mihād fī sharḥ al-Irshād*. It is therefore not unlikely that the *Kitāb Ta'yīd al-Tamhīd wa-taqyīd al-tajrīd* cited by the *qāḍī* 'Iyāḍ actually refers to a commentary on al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd*. For al-Māzarī's *al-Mihād fī sharḥ al-Irshād* see Idris, "À propos d'un extrait du '*Kitāb al-Mihād*'"; the manuscript discussed by Idris contains vol. 1 of the *Mihād* and a digital black and white copy of it is available online at <http://wadod.org/vb/showthread.php?t=9508> (accessed 6 June 2017). Today the original manuscript belongs to the holdings of the National Library in Tunis (shelfmark: A-MSS-18586(01); see <http://www.bnt.nat.tn/uhtbin/cgisirsi.exe/0RV2XSnnM/BNT/86530005/9>); the digitized manuscript contains several unreadable library stamps. An additional manuscript containing vol. 2 is preserved in MS Miknās, Khizānat al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 39 (see al-Barrāq, *Fihris al-makhtūṭāt*, p. 165, no. 299). Vol. 3 of the *Mihād* is preserved in a MS held in Riyadh at the King Abdul Aziz Public Library (no. 744; also in digital form in Dubai, Jum'at al-Mājid Centre for Culture and Heritage, no. 336262).

¹³ For modern secondary sources on al-Dībājī see: Idris, "Deux maîtres de l'école juridique kairouanaise", pp. 49-50; Idris, *La berbérie orientale* (see the Index); 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Kitāb al-'umr fī l-muṣannafāt wa-l-mu'allifīn al-tūnisiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 390-391; Serrano Ruano, "Los almorávides y la teología aš'arī", p. 498 (no. 15); the article "al-Dībājī, Abū l-Qāsim" in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 331-332, no. 101; HATA IV. Dogmática no. 103, III. Fiqh no. 496; PUA (= *Prosopografía de los ulemas de al-Andalus*), no. 4170 [retrieved from <https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/>]; Našīr, "Dawr al-Bāqillānī fī talqīn al-asānīd al-Ash'ariyya", pp. 83-87.

oldest of these sources are two works by the *qāḍī* 'Iyād b. Mūsā al-Yaḥsubī. Neither of them contains a biographical account of al-Dībājī in its own right, however. The first of these two works is *al-Ghunya*, a book that consists of an alphabetical list of the *qāḍī*'s "teachers" (*shuyūkh*). Here, the *qāḍī* 'Iyād reports about some of his masters who studied with al-Dībājī.¹⁴ The second is the *ṭabaqāt* work of Mālikī scholars, entitled *Tartīb al-madārik*. It mentions al-Dībājī in the biographies of two of his teachers.¹⁵ The next source in the historical chronology is the *Fahrāsa* of Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1176),¹⁶ a student of Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī. The purpose of Ibn Khayr's work is to provide a list of works he studied and was subsequently authorised to transmit, so that it does not provide an account of al-Dībājī's life either. Similarly, al-Dībājī's name occurs once in Ibn Bashkwāl's (d. 578/1183) *al-Ṣila* in an entry on one of al-Dībājī's students.¹⁷ Apparently the first to write a biography of our author was Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260) in his *Kitāb al-Takmila li-kitāb al-Ṣila*.¹⁸ This entry was used by several later authors as a source and was reproduced verbatim or almost verbatim by such works as *al-Mustamlah min Kitāb al-takmila*¹⁹ and *Tārīkh al-islām*²⁰ by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1374) and *Jadhwaṭ al-iqtibās* by Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī (d. 1025/1616).²¹ Al-Dībājī is furthermore cited as a transmitter of an anecdote about a controversy that arose in Qayrawān over the question whether or not the unbeliever knows God.²² This report however does not contain any relevant information on al-Dībājī's life.

¹⁴ al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *al-Ghunya*, pp. 64, 75-76, 88-89.

¹⁵ al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, vol. 7, pp. 260, 262 (unless otherwise specified, we cite the 1983 Rabat edition of this work).

¹⁶ Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa*, p. 542.

¹⁷ Ibn Bashkwāl, *al-Ṣila*, vol. 2, p. 547.

¹⁸ Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, vol. 3, p. 276, no. 2560.

¹⁹ al-Dhahabī, *Mustamlah*, p. 287, no. 621.

²⁰ al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, vol. 10, pp. 304-305, no. 303.

²¹ Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 387, no. 383; in addition see the entries on al-Dībājī's students Yūsuf b. 'Īsā Ibn al-Maljūm al-Zahrānī (p. 549) and Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Naḥwī (p. 552).

²² The anecdote is found in the biography of Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī contained in al-Tādilī, *al-Tashawwuf*, pp. 87-88 (p. 77 of the French translation: al Tādilī, *Regard sur le temps des Soufis*) and also reproduced by al-Sarrāj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, p. 272 (as in the earlier edition consulted by Idris, "Deux maîtres de l'école juridique kairouanaise", p. 49, "Ibn Abī l-Riyāḥī" is a misreading of al-Dībājī's name).

Finally, several accounts of al-Dībājī's positions on legal matters are given in the Maghribī literature. One opinion is related by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Shabbāt (d. 681/1282), a scholar from Tozeur (Tawzar), in his *Ṣilat al-Simṭ*.²³ The ninth/fifteenth-century Tunisian scholar Abū l-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Balawī al-Burzulī (d. 841/1438) has four such reports about al-Dībājī in his *Jāmi' masā'il al-aḥkām*.²⁴ In addition, al-Wansharī's (d. 914/1508) *Mi'yār*, a monumental collection of legal opinions (*fatāwā*) issued by jurists of the Islamic west, includes two *fatwās* by al-Dībājī.²⁵

None of the historical sources provide us with the date of al-Dībājī's birth nor with that of his death. The *nisba* al-Qarawī suggests that he was from Qayrawān.²⁶ In any case it is certain that he studied in this city, because two of his teachers were the abovementioned disciples of al-Bāqillānī who taught in Qayrawān, namely Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, and the *mashriqī* scholar who is known as Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Azdī, but whose *nisba* we believe to be read correctly al-Adharī. The author of the *Tasdīd* refers to both of them as his teachers and relates some details

²³ Ibn al-Shabbāt's account is an extract from Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Maṣṣūr al-Qafṣī's (alive 465/1072) *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Raḥ' al-ishkāl fī l-mas'ala al-nāzila fī hilāl shawwāl* and addresses the question of how to establish the new moon with certainty on the basis of concurrent reports; al-Dībājī's opinion in this matter is quoted on the authority of a certain al-Marīd; see Idris, "La vie intellectuelle en Ifriqiya méridionale", p. 102. Most of the *Ṣilat al-Simṭ* remains in manuscript form, including the passages discussed by Idris. Edited sections from Ibn al-Shabbāt's work include those on the conquest of Sicily and al-Andalus (Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, pp. 209-213 (Arab.), al-'Abbādī, "Waṣf al-Andalus" and al-'Abbādī, *Tārīkh al-Andalus li-bn al-Kardabūs*, pp. 127-191); for a general overview on Ibn al-Shabbāt's *Ṣilat al-Simṭ* see El Bahi, "Un témoignage méconnu sur l'Ifriqiya". We thank Luis Molina for these references.

²⁴ See al-Burzulī, *Fatāwā*, vol. 1, p. 288 (on the qualities of a prayer leader of a mosque (*imām al-jāmi'*)); vol. 1, p. 522 (al-Dībājī is reported to have said that concurrent reports are only trustworthy if they are related by informants of integrity); vol. 4, p. 79 (al-Dībājī is asked whether or not he would unconditionally trust his teacher Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī's report about the authorship of a certain work); vol. 6, p. 335 (it relates al-Dībājī's position that the Qur'ān is not created and one of God's "essential" attributes (*ṣifa min ṣifāt dhātihi*)); Naṣīr, "Dawr al-Bāqillānī fī talqīn al-asānīd al-Aṣ'ariyya", p. 85, relies on this report to establish al-Dībājī's adherence to Ash'arism).

²⁵ See Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, pp. 30, 445 with further details and references to the Arabic editions of the text. The first *fatwā* in al-Wansharī's *Mi'yār* is based on al-Qafṣī's abovementioned account (fn. 23). The second text addresses the question also found in al-Burzulī's *Jāmi' masā'il al-aḥkām* (fn. 24), namely whether or not al-Dībājī would unconditionally trust Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, when the latter attributes a text to a specific author.

²⁶ Idris, "Deux maîtres de l'école juridique kairouanaise", p. 49, note 41 suggests that Ibn al-Ṣābūnī means that al-Dībājī's family roots are in Jamūnis al-Ṣābūn, a locality in the region of Qammūda near Qayrawān.

about specific issues discussed in their study circles as well as two accounts about al-Adharī's extensive studies with al-Bāqillānī.²⁷ Whilst attending the classes of a third teacher, al-Dībājī also became familiar with al-Bāqillānī's *al-Intiṣār li-naql al-Qur'ān*, a book that argues that the Qur'ān was transmitted without textual alterations.²⁸ More precisely, al-Dībājī attended Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣayrafi's dictation (*imlā'*) of a summary of this work. We do not know where the teaching session took place, because too little is known about al-Ṣayrafi's life. Essentially, we merely possess the information that he personally met al-Bāqillānī,²⁹ and, in addition, a unique manuscript of al-Dībājī's recension (*tartīb*) of al-Ṣayrafi's summary of the *Intiṣār* has survived to the present day.³⁰ Furthermore, al-Dībājī's acquaintance with al-Ṣayrafi is confirmed by a reference to the latter in the *Tasdīd*—the passage is found in the discussion of a specific question related to *kalām*.³¹ Additional teachers of al-Dībājī include Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abbās al-Anṣārī al-Khawāṣṣ (d. 428/1037),³² Abū l-Qāsim al-Khawlanī³³—that is probably Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khawlanī (d. 432/1040 or 435/1043)—and Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd (or Ḥammūd) al-Tūnisī (alive 423/1032), a student of Abū Bakr b. Fūrak (d. 406/1015).³⁴ It is fur-

²⁷ See fols 8b (*wa-qad qāla shaykhu-nā Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Adharī anna l-qāḍī raḥima-hu llāh kāna yadhkuru fasād hādihā l-hadd fī tadrīsi-hi ...*), 27b (*hā-kadhā amlāhā l-shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Adharī*), 62b (*haddatha-nā l-shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥātim al-Adharī qāla: ...*), 68a (*wa-laḡad dhakara l-shaykh Abī [sic!] 'Imrān [...] fa-sa'altu-hu 'an dhālika mushāfahatan fa-qāla lī ...*), 70b (*qāla l-shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Adharī raḥima-hu llāh: ṣaḡabtu l-qāḍī raḥima-hu llāh thalāth 'ashra sana ...*).

²⁸ Edited under the title *al-Intiṣār li-l-Qur'ān*. On this work see also Gimaret, "Un extrait de la *Hiḍāya* d'Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī", pp. 264-265. A second ms of this work, that was unknown to the *Intiṣār*'s editor and to Gimaret, is found in Rabat, al-Maktaba al-Ḥasaniyya, no. 11206 (*non vidi*); see Zahrī, and Būkārī, *Fahras*, vol. 1, pp. 119-120.

²⁹ In al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, vol. 7, p. 48, al-Ṣayrafi appears as an informant for al-Bāqillānī's biography.

³⁰ MS Alexandria, Baladiyya 828b (also found as microfilm in Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, no. 284 *tafsīr*); the manuscript was edited as *Nukat al-Intiṣār*. GAS, vol. 1, p. 609 also points to the fact that al-Ṣayrafi's work survives in al-Dībājī's recension.

³¹ It is found in a brief discussion about the definition of sound (*al-sawt*), for which, in al-Dībājī's view, theologians other than al-Ṣayrafi failed to provide an appropriate one (see fol. 9a).

³² al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, vol. 7, p. 260.

³³ Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, vol. 3, p. 276.

³⁴ Idris, *La berbérie orientale*, vol. 2, p. 728, quoting the biography found in al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, vol. 7, p. 262.

thermore reported that al-Dībājī met with his eminent contemporary Abū l-Ma‘ālī al-Juwaynī and transmitted the latter’s *Talkhīṣ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, a work in legal methodology.³⁵ None of the biographical reports state explicitly that al-Dībājī ever travelled to the Mashriq. Yet if the encounter between him and al-Juwaynī is historically accurate, it must have taken place in the first half of the 450s/1060s in the Ḥijāz.³⁶ Al-Dībājī would thus have made the pilgrimage within this period of time.

It was still in Qayrawān that al-Dībājī started to act as teacher. He later left the city, probably because of its conquest and destruction by the Banū Hilāl. Al-Dībājī first moved to the palatine city of the Berber dynasty of the Ḥammādids, Qal‘at Banī Ḥammad, where he engaged in teaching. At some later point, he relocated his study circles to the city of Fez. This is also his last residence recorded in our sources.

We possess some concrete information about al-Dībājī’s students, and in some cases we can even establish where precisely they attended his classes. In Qayrawān, al-Dībājī taught Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Walīd b. ‘Ubayd Ibn Jawzī (d. 483/1090), a native of Ceuta (Sabta), and entitled him to transmit his own works.³⁷ Judging from his *nisba*, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Dāwud b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Qal‘ī (d. 525/1130-1) was probably from the Ḥammādids’ fort, and so it was presumably there that he studied with al-Dībājī.³⁸ Another student, Abū l-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Naḥwī al-Tawzarī (d. 513/1119) received his education both at Qal‘at Banī Ḥammād and in Fez, so that he could have attended al-Dībājī’s classes in either or both cities.³⁹ Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. ‘Īsā b. Maljūm al-Zahrānī (d. 492/1098-

³⁵ Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, vol. 3, p. 276.

³⁶ These dates can be reconstructed from the chronology of events in al-Juwaynī’s life: he hailed from Nīsābūr but only wrote the *Talkhīṣ* in Mecca (see al-Zarkashī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, vol. 1, p. 8), that is during his four years’ exile in the Ḥijāz. Al-Juwaynī had to flee the anti-Shāfi‘ite policy of the Seljuq vizier Abū Naṣr al-Kundurī (d. 456/1064), and between 452/1060 and 456/1064 he taught in Mecca and Medina. Once Nizām al-Mulk became vizier and radically changed the Seljuqs’ policy towards Shāfi‘ites and Ash‘arites, al-Juwaynī returned from the Ḥijāz to his native city Nīsābūr and taught in the Nizāmiyya *madrasa*. He remained there until his death in 478/1085.

³⁷ Ibn Bashkwāl, *al-Ṣila*, vol. 2, p. 547; literally, Ibn Bashkwāl speaks about a journey to “the lands of Ifrīqiya” (*bilād Ifrīqiya*).

³⁸ al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād, *al-Ghunya*, p. 64; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, vol. 3, p. 276.

³⁹ See Ibn al-Naḥwī’s entry in Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwa*, vol. 2, p. 552, no. 643 and Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr*, vol. 1, p. 126.

9) hailed from Fez, and it is therefore likely that he studied with al-Dībājī in his native city.⁴⁰

In other cases, it is impossible to say where al-Dībājī instructed his students. This applies to several students from al-Andalus: the first is Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmām b. Shibrīn (d. 503/1109), who after studying with al-Dībājī *uṣūl* —that is theology and legal methodology— was authorized to transmit his teacher’s complete works and all those books al-Dībājī had received from his own teachers, including al-Adharī’s *al-Lāmi‘ fī uṣūl al-fiqh* and al-Bāqillānī’s works transmitted via al-Adharī.⁴¹ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī l-Khayr al-Anṣārī (d. 518/1124-5) also hailed from al-Andalus and travelled to study *uṣūl* with al-Dībājī.⁴² About Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Khalīfa, who is listed in Ibn al-Abbār’s *Takmila*, we are only informed that he read al-Juwaynī’s *Talkhīṣ*, that is the *imām al-ḥaramayn*’s early work in legal methodology that al-Dībājī had most likely studied with the author himself in the first half of the 450s/1060s. The Sicilian scholar Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sābiq al-Ṣiqillī (d. 493/1100 in Egypt), who later taught theology in Grenada, also met with al-Dībājī and refers to him as his *shaykh* in his *Kitāb al-Hudūd al-kalāmiyya wa-l-fiqhiyya*.⁴³ Finally, a marginal gloss contained in the manuscript of the *Tasdīd* cites a certain Abū Ṭāhir (fol. 92a), who cannot be identified with any of the aforementioned students.

Apart from transmitting works in legal methodology and Ash‘arite *kalām* in his study circles, al-Dībājī also contributed to these two disciplines with his own writings. Ibn al-Abbār lists the titles of three books.⁴⁴ The first is *Kitāb Nukat al-Intiṣār* —or *Mukhtaṣar / Ikhtīṣār al-Intiṣār*, as it is cited by the Andalusī theologian ‘Alī b. Muḥammad

⁴⁰ Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, vol. 3, p. 276; Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwa*, p. 549, no. 636.

⁴¹ al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād, *al-Ghunya*, pp. 75-76; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrassa*, p. 542; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, vol. 3, p. 276.

⁴² al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād, *al-Ghunya*, pp. 88-89. In Francisco Codera y Zaydīn’s 1887-1889 edition of Ibn al-Abbār’s *Takmila* (p. 653), his name is erroneously given as Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Khayr.

⁴³ See al-Qaddūrī, “Min shuyūkh al-Ash‘ariyya bi-l-Andalus”, p. 93 and his article “Ibn Sābiq al-Ṣiqillī, Abū Bakr” in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 5, pp. 41-43, no. 1022; the reference to “*shaykhu-nā Abū l-Qāsim*” is found in al-Ṣiqillī, *al-Hudūd*, p. 87. On al-Ṣiqillī see furthermore Ansari, “Tafsīr-e padīde-ye”.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, vol. 3, p. 276.

al-Fazārī (d. 557/1162) in his commentary on al-Juwaynī's *Irshād* entitled *Minhāj al-sadād fī sharḥ al-Irshād*.⁴⁵ Ibn al-Abbār describes al-Dībājī's work as a summary of al-Bāqillānī's *al-Intiṣār [li-naql al-Qur'ān]*. As mentioned above, it would be more accurate to characterise the text as a recension of the summary that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣayrafī made of *al-Intiṣār*. According to a note appended to *al-Intiṣār*, al-Dībājī made his compilation after al-Ṣayrafī's death. It is based on al-Ṣayrafī's dictations, and al-Dībājī merely contributed the preface and some minor changes to the text.⁴⁶ The two other works mentioned by Ibn al-Abbār appear to be lost. One of them is called *Risāla fī l-I'tiqādāt*, obviously a theological writing. The second is a treatise on legal methodology, entitled *Kitāb al-mustaw'ib fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. It is possibly identical to a work quoted in the Shāfi'ī legal methodological work entitled *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* by the eighth/fourteenth-century Cairene Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392): he actually informs us that al-Dībājī wrote a commentary upon al-Adharī's *al-Lāmi' fī uṣūl al-fiqh*.⁴⁷ This work is also quoted in the *Tasdīd* as "the book we dictated [as a commentary] upon *al-Lāmi' fī uṣūl al-fiqh*" (*al-kitāb alladhī amlaynā-hu 'alā l-Lāmi' fī uṣūl al-fiqh*). This quotation firmly establishes that al-Dībājī actually is the author of the *Tasdīd*. In addition to his commentary upon *al-Lāmi'*, al-Dībājī also twice quotes his *Kitāb al-Mughnī* (fols 27b, 41a), a work that is not attested by any other source, and which contained a polemic against Jews and Christians.⁴⁸ The list of al-Dībājī's works can be further completed by a collection of 201 questions on Qur'ānic verses on

⁴⁵ See MS London, British Library, OR, 9654 fol. 52b: "*wa-qāla 'Abd al-Jalīl fī Mukhtaṣar al-Intiṣār...*"; fols 66a and 71b: "*wa-qāla 'Abd al-Jalīl fī Ikhtīṣār al-Intiṣār...*"; in addition, the text once refers to al-Dībājī, without citing any title (fol. 21a: "*wa-qāla 'Abd al-Jalīl ...*"). The manuscript of al-Fazārī's *Minhāj al-sadād* was identified by Shihadeh, "Classical Ash'arī Anthropology", pp. 476-477.

⁴⁶ *Nukat al-Intiṣār*, p. 426: "*hādhihi l-Nukat amlā-hā l-shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣayrafī ka-mā taqaddama dhikra-hu, wa-lammā tuwaffīya rahīma-hu llāh rattaba-hu 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣābūnī. fa-l-khuṭba la-hu wa-ba'd al-fāz al-kitāb.*"

⁴⁷ al-Zarkashī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, vol. 1, p. 137; vol. 2, p. 382; vol. 4, p. 82; and without specifying a book's title, vol. 1, p. 196. In a commentary on al-Juwaynī's *al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Māzarī (d. 536/1141) once quotes al-Dībājī, possibly based on the commentary upon *al-Lāmi'* (al-Māzarī, *Īdāḥ al-maḥṣūl*, p. 148).

⁴⁸ In the *Tasdīd*, al-Dībājī recapitulates Biblical material already presented in his *al-Mughnī* as proofs for the alleged prediction of the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad; a forthcoming study will analyse these passages.

practicing ablution, entitled *Su'ālāt fī āyat al-wuḍū'*. The text is likewise included in MS Yazma Bağışlar no. 1885 and attributed to him. A more detailed description follows below.

III.

The unique copy of al-Dībājī's commentary on the *Tamhīd* is contained in a codex held by the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul under the shelfmark Yazma Bağışlar no. 1885.⁴⁹ The handwriting of the manuscript is in all likelihood that of a Maghribī scribe. At some point, the manuscript was transferred to the Islamic east. Fol. 1a has an ownership statement from the year 969/1561 written in a *mashriqī* hand. A second, earlier ownership mark is found on the recto of the first, uncounted folio of the codex.⁵⁰

MS Yazma Bağışlar no. 1885 is a collective manuscript. The copyist outlines the content of the codex on the title page (fol. 1a):

كتاب التسديد للفقهاء الأجل القاضي | أبي محمد عبد الجليل بن أبي بكر الربيعي | في شرح
تمهيد الإمام القاضي أبي بكر بن الطيب الباقلاني وفيه رسالة | تحقيق المذهب فيما روي
أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كتب تأليف الفقيه | القاضي أبي الوليد سليمان بن خلف
الباجي وفيه الكلام على آية الوضوء [في حاشية: وأجوبة الفقهاء عليها] لعبد الجليل
الربيعي

This overview is not exhaustive, and a full list of the items included in the codex is given here:

(1) *Kitāb al-Tasdīd fī sharḥ al-Tamhīd* by 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Dībājī (fols 1b-93a).

(2) The scribe's colophon (fol. 93b:1-3) and three short anonymous notes (fol. 93b:4-7, fol. 93:8-10 and fols 93b:11-94a:17), the third of which is definitely not to be attributed to al-Dībājī.

⁴⁹ The shelfmark in GAS, vol. 1, p. 609, namely MS Turhan Valide Sultan 20/1, corresponds to an earlier library classification; see the library stamps on the recto of the first, uncounted folio and fols. 93a and 125b.

⁵⁰ Also, the script of this second statement is clearly not Maghribī. The style of the handwriting is much earlier than that of the ownership mark from 969/1561, but the precise date is not readable. The owner mentioned in this note is a Shāfi'ī. Fol. 22a has a gloss written in *mashriqī* script.

(3) An anonymous *Mas'ala wa-jawābu-hā* (fols 94a:18-95a:5).

(4) *Su'ālāt fī āyat al-wuḍū'* by 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Dībājī (fols 95a:6-99b:13). These 201 questions on the practice of ablution were addressed to al-Dībājī by somebody whose earlier attempt to seek guidance from another scholar had remained unanswered. The name of this scholar remains undisclosed, but al-Dībājī's relation to him appears to have been problematic: he portrays him using all kinds of negative qualities, describing him —appealing to Q. 43:18— as a man brought up in luxury and unable to make himself clear in disputation (*rajul nashsha'a fī l-ḥilya wa-huwa fī l-khiṣām ghayr mubīn*), as an ignoramus, overestimating himself and instructing others in matters in which he is completely incompetent.⁵¹ After a page-long depiction of his antagonist as an impostor, al-Dībājī affirms that he intends to offer trustworthy answers based on sound scholarly principles. What follows on fols 96a-99b is a sequence of questions related to theology (*kalām*), law (*fiqh*) and legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). Some of the 201 questions are missing, because al-Dībājī ignored them. Yet the copy does, strikingly, not contain al-Dībājī's answers and the manuscript gives absolutely no indication why this is the case. Essentially, the text only allows us to draw the conclusion that al-Dībājī had a personal rivalry with one of his contemporaries while having already achieved some scholarly reputation, at least to the extent that he was considered sufficiently authoritative to answer the series of questions recorded in this manuscript.

(5) An anonymous question and answer on the theological problem of whether God imposes upon man obligations he cannot fulfil —the so-called issue of *taḳlīf mā lā yuṭāq* (fols 99b:14-105a). The text is not attributed to any author. It quotes such texts as al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd* (fols 100b, 101a, 101b, 102a), his *Sharḥ al-Luma'* (fol. 101b) and Abū Bakr Ibn Fūrak's *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Ash'arī* (fols 100b, 101b); in addition, it refers to al-Ash'arī (fols 100b, 101a, 101b, 102a, 103b, 104b), Abū l-'Abbās al-Qalānisī (fol. 100b), Abū Maṣṣūr al-Baghdādī (fol. 100b), *al-imām* Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (fols 100b, 102b, 104b) and a certain Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Nahāwandī (fols 100b, 101a). It appears that this text was written some time after al-Juwaynī's return to Nīsābūr and by a *mashriqī* author: the honorific title *al-imām* points to the fact

⁵¹ See fol. 95a.

that al-Juwaynī was already recognised as a leading authority, and Abū Maṣṣūr al-Baghdādī and the otherwise unknown Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Nahāwandī were likely unfamiliar to Maghribī scholars.

(6) *Tahqīq al-madhhab* by Abū l-Walīd al-Bājī (d. 474/1081), including responses of Andalusī scholars to the text (fol. 105b-125b).⁵² Al-Bājī's famous text discusses whether or not the Prophet was illiterate.

The *Tasdīd* is the only text contained in this codex with a copyist's colophon (fol. 93b). It reveals the date of copying, namely Rajab 576/1180, without providing further details about the copyist himself. The manuscript was thus produced in the Almohad period:

تم كتاب التسديد في شرح التمهيد في العشر الآخر من شهر رجب | الفرد سنة ست وسبعين
وخمس مائة وصلى الله على محمد نبي الرحمة | ومنقذ الأمة

If the manuscript discloses only little about the production of this specific copy, the author's introduction to the *Tasdīd* (fol. 1b) reveals some valuable details about the genesis of the work itself. Although the preface is no longer than a few lines, it contains information about al-Dībājī's role in transmitting the *Tamhīd*, his motivation to write a commentary upon al-Bāqillānī's work, and the circumstances under which he compiled it. Al-Dībājī reports that he taught the *Tamhīd* in Qayrawān. Some students of his study circle asked him to dictate his comments and explanations on al-Bāqillānī's text. Yet it was eventually he himself who penned the script of his lectures in his own hand. He must have fixed his commentary around the time of the Hilālīan invasion of Qayrawān in the 440s/1050s, because he mentions that the city experienced catastrophic events (*fajr'at al-Qayrawān wa-mā rumītu bi-hi min faqd al-ahl wa-l-jīrān*) whilst he was working on his text:

سألتم | أحسن الله توفيقكم حين تدريس التمهيد إملأ نكت على بعض ما يمر منه فلم يكن بدّ
من إسعافكم | بما طلبتموه وإسعادكم على ما أردتموه وإن كنت أمدّ إلى ذلك يدًا فصرتها
[؟] فججعة | القبروان وما رميت به من فقد الأهل والجيران فإن أصاب سهمي شاكلة
الرمي فيتأيد | ذي القدرة القوي وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكيل

⁵² Al-Bājī's text was edited on the basis of this manuscript copy: see al-Bājī, *Tahqīq al-madhhab*.

In this preface, al-Dībājī indicates his specific approach in writing the commentary: his purpose was actually not to provide an explanation of the full text of the *Tamhīd*, but rather to focus on some selected passages (*nukat* ‘*alā ba ‘ḍ mā yamurru min-hu*). Accordingly, the text of the *Tasdīd* is shorter than that of the *Tamhīd*, and sometimes even omits entire sections of al-Bāqillānī’s work. For example, al-Dībājī skips a number of issues concerning the relationship between God and man, such as chapters on sustenance (*arzāq*), prices (*as ‘ār*), divine favour (*lutf*), God’s justice (*al-ta ‘dīl wa-l-tajwīr*) or the meaning of religion (*ma ‘nā l-dīn*).⁵³

If we compare the macrostructure of both works, we see that al-Dībājī and al-Bāqillānī weighted the importance of specific topics differently: accordingly, the commentary gives more room to the discussion of some issues than the *Tamhīd* and vice versa. For example, the section devoted to the preliminaries —i.e. the discussion of rational inquiries and the seeking of proofs to attain knowledge— are significantly longer in the *Tasdīd*. Al-Dībājī even adds to this part of the book several sub-sections that have no equivalent in the *Tamhīd*, such as chapters on “causes” (pl. ‘*ilal*, sing. ‘*illa*) and “conditions” (pl. *shurūṭ*, sing. *sharṭ*) in theology and law.⁵⁴ Also, the next section on “rationally conceivable objects” (*al-ma ‘qūlāt*) takes up much more room in the *Tasdīd* than in the *Tamhīd*.

On the other hand, al-Bāqillānī was much more concerned with polemical chapters against the proponents of natural causality, astrologers (*munajjimūn*), the *majūs*, Christians, the *barāhima*, and against anthropomorphists (*al-mujassimūn*) than al-Dībājī. An exception are the attacks against the Jews and all those who deny the authenticity of Muḥammad as prophet: they occupy significant space in both works.

It is also worth pointing out a certain discrepancy between the two works with regard to the chapter in defence of the theory of divine determinism (*Bāb al-kalām fī khalq al-af‘āl*). On the one hand, the discussion in the *Tasdīd* is significantly shorter, and on the other hand, al-Dībājī’s position is not entirely consistent with the argument of the

⁵³ This corresponds to chapters 30 (pp. 328-329), 31 (pp. 330-331), 34 (pp. 338-340), 35 (pp. 341-344) and 36 (p. 345) in McCarthy’s critical edition of the *Tamhīd*.

⁵⁴ An edition of the chapter *Bāb al-kalām fī l-‘illa al-‘aqliyya wa-l-ḥukm al-‘aqlī* follows below in section IV.

Tamhīd. Rather than denying that man's capability to act (*qudra*) is in any way effective, he adopts a theory developed only later by al-Bāqillānī, as it can be found in the latter's *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*: according to this theory, man's power affects the agent himself in that he is powerful and thereby distinguished from whoever is powerless. In addition, the theory says, it is by virtue of his power that man is related (*ta'alluq*) to his acts. And finally, the theory attempts to explain why man assumes the responsibility for acts created by God by arguing that God's command, prohibition, compensation and punishment actually do not relate to the mere existence of our acts but to an attribute (*ḥukm / ṣifa*) that our acts come to have by virtue of our power.⁵⁵ Al-Dībājī's conception of human agency suggest that he tends to be inclined to theories that al-Bāqillānī developed only after the completion of the *Tamhīd*, namely in such later works as the *Hidāya*. In part IV of this article, we will provide further evidence to support our claim, and we will show that the theory of human acts is not an isolated case, but rather reflects a trend that can be confirmed by other doctrinal questions.

An additional striking contrast between the *Tamhīd* and its commentary is found with regard to the length of the chapter on the legitimate leadership of the community after the Prophet's death, that is the issue of the imamate: it is by far the longest section of the *Tamhīd*,⁵⁶ whereas it covers only fols 89b-93a in the copy of al-Dībājī's text.

As we are dealing with an early Ash'arite theological text, it is not surprising that the school's founder, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, is cited

⁵⁵ For an analysis of al-Bāqillānī's theory in the *Hidāya*, see Thiele, "Conceptions of Self-Determination". It is echoed on fols 83b-84a of the *Tasdīd*:

فإن قالوا: فما الصفة التي يصير الكسب بها؟ قلنا: هي القدرة التي فارق بها من وجدت له حكم العاجزين. فإن قالوا: فما مقدور هذه القدرة؟ قلنا: مقدورها الذات المكتسبة. فإن قالوا: فإن الذات المكتسبة إنما تصير ذاتاً على قولكم بقدرة القديم تعالى دون قدرة المحدث، وإذا كان ذلك كذلك فأخبرونا بما تعلقت القدرة المحدث؟ قلنا: القدرة المحدث عندنا في تعلّقها بمقدورها بمثابة العلم في تعلّقه بمعلومه والذكر في تعلّقه بمذكوره. فإن قالوا: فيجب أن يصير الكسب على صفة يعرفه المكتسب. قيل لهم: وكذلك يجب أن يصير المعلوم والمذكور على صفة لتعلّق العلم والذكر له ولا فصل في ذلك [...] وإن قالوا: لولم تكن محدثين لأفعالنا ومخترعين لها لم يصح أن نؤمر بها ولا ننه عنها ولا نثاب عليها ولا نعاقب. قيل لهم: الأمر والنهي والثواب والعقاب إنما تتعلّق بالأحكام والصفات التي يصير الكسب عليها عند فعل الله تعالى إياها فبنا وقوله القدرة لنا عليه ولا تتعلّق بشيء مما ذكرتموه عندنا وعندكم بإحداثنا الفعل ولا بإخراجنا من العدم إلى الوجود لا على أصلنا ولا على أصلكم.

⁵⁶ The chapter is not part of McCarthy's critical edition of the *Tamhīd* —for reasons he explains in his introduction— but it is included in the 1947 Cairo edition (al-Bāqillānī, *al-Tamhīd fī l-radd 'alā l-mulḥida al-mu'aṭṭila wa-l-rāfiḍa wa-l-khawārij wa-l-mu'tazila*, pp. 178-239). The chapter was analysed by Ibish, *Political Doctrine*.

very frequently by name in the *Tasdīd*.⁵⁷ A number of these citations are noteworthy references to specific titles from al-Ash‘arī’s œuvre, because they offer a glimpse of texts that were read by Qayrawānī scholars, or at least known to them via secondary sources: al-Dībājī quotes *al-Īdāh* (fols 46a and 51a), *Kitāb al-Luma‘* (fol. 2a), *al-Mūjiz* (fols 46a, 51a) and *Kitāb al-sharḥ wa-l-taḥqīl* (fol. 70a).⁵⁸ Aside from al-Ash‘arī, al-Bāqillānī is also frequently cited in the *Tasdīd*: as one would expect, al-Dībājī refers to him, and naturally also to the *Tamhīd*, throughout the commentary. In addition, he also quotes other works by al-Bāqillānī, including *al-Daqā‘iq* (fol. 26a),⁵⁹ *al-Hidāya* (fols 20a, 42b, 51a),⁶⁰ *Naqḍ al-Naqḍ* (fol. 51a),⁶¹ *Sharḥ al-Luma‘* (fols 51a, 67b)⁶² and the otherwise unknown title *Sharḥ al-Risāla* (fol. 42b), as well as further unspecified books.⁶³ It is noteworthy that these citations include some of al-Bāqillānī’s later works. This explains al-Dībājī’s familiarity with theories and arguments that al-Bāqillānī developed only after completing the *Tamhīd*, such as the abovementioned doctrine of the effectiveness of human capability or the so-called theory of *aḥwāl* that we will discuss below in some more detail.

⁵⁷ See fols 2a, 2b, 12a, 14a, 15b, 17a, 17b, 18b, 23a, 27a, 27b, 29b, 30a, 31b, 40a, 42b, 43a, 45b, 46a, 46b, 49a, 49b, 51a, 51b, 52a, 56b, 57a, 59b, 60a, 60b, 63a, 63b, 64a, 68b, 73b, 74b, 75a, 76a, 79a, 80b, 82b, 84b, 91a, 91b, 92a, 92b, 93a.

⁵⁸ For these works see Gimaret, “Bibliographie d’Aš‘arī”, pp. 229-231, no. 2, 234-235, no. 10, 236-240, no. 13, 240, no. 14; the *Kitāb al-Luma‘* is edited and translated into English as part of McCarthy, *Theology*. In addition, al-Dībājī also refers generally to “some of al-Ash‘arī’s works” (fol. 60b).

⁵⁹ That is *Daqā‘iq al-kalām wa-l-radd ‘alā man khālaḥ l-ḥaqq min al-awā’il wa-muntaḥilī l-islām*; for this lost work see Gimaret, “Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d’Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī”, p. 263. An Ash‘arite theologian from Tunis, Abū ‘Alī ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Sakūnī al-Ishbīlī (d. 717/1317-8) quotes the work under the title *al-Daqā‘iq wa-l-tahqīq* (see the introduction in al-Sakūnī al-Ishbīlī, *Uyūn al-munāẓarāt*, p. 37).

⁶⁰ I.e. his multi-volume *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*, of which four volumes have been rediscovered (for the MSS see Gimaret, “Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d’Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī” and Schmidtke, “Early Aš‘arite Theology”).

⁶¹ A lost refutation of the rebuttal written by the Mu‘tazilite ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) against al-Ash‘arī’s *al-Luma‘*; see Gimaret, “Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d’Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī”, pp. 268-269 and Schmidtke, “Early Aš‘arite Theology”, pp. 44-45 (with further references).

⁶² A lost commentary upon al-Ash‘arī’s *al-Luma‘*; al-Juwaynī’s *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* (the surviving fragments of this work are edited in two volumes edited by Fayṣal ‘Awn & Shuhayr Muḥammad Mukhtār (1969) and Richard M. Frank (1981)) is based upon al-Bāqillānī’s *Sharḥ*.

⁶³ See fols 1b, 2a, 15a, 17a, 19b, 45b, 46b, 57a, 57b, 61a, 82b, 86b.

An additional reference in the *Tasdīd* to another Ash'arite authority deserves specific attention: al-Dībājī quotes al-Bāqillānī's contemporary and fellow student Abū Bakr Ibn Fūrak once, as an informant for a specific doctrine advocated by al-Ash'arī. Actually, al-Dībājī's source can be clearly identified as the *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Ash'arī*, that is Ibn Fūrak's detailed account of al-Ash'arī's theology, where the corresponding passage can be precisely located.⁶⁴ The *Tasdīd* is consequently the earliest historical source that confirms the attribution of the *Mujarrad* to Ibn Fūrak. This is specifically important because the work's authenticity as yet has not been established with absolute certainty.⁶⁵

In order to complete the picture of al-Dībājī's position within the spectrum of religious schools, it is worth pointing out here that the *Tasdīd* also testifies to its author's adherence to Mālikī law. Considering the school's predominance in Maghribī Sunnism, this observation does not come as a surprise, though. Al-Dībājī speaks in the *Tasdīd* about "our Mālikī masters" (*shuyūkhū-nā al-mālikiyya*, fol. 5b) and quotes several Mālikī chief authorities, including, for example, the school's eponym Mālik b. Anas (fols 13a, 26b, 35a, 73b, 74a, 80b, 86a), or a reference to Abū Ja'far al-Abharī (d. 375/985) (fol. 37a), an important representative of Iraqi Mālikism.⁶⁶ Al-Dībājī's attachment to the Mālikī school is further confirmed by the mere fact that he is quoted as an authority in al-Wansharī's monumental *fatwā* collection.⁶⁷

While the combined adherence to Mālikism in law and Ash'arism in theology came to be commonplace in the Islamic west in later centuries, the emerging intellectual tradition must have encountered skep-

⁶⁴ More precisely, al-Dībājī quotes Ibn Fūrak's report about al-Ash'arī's undecidedness regarding the question whether or not the insane and domestic animals will be resurrected and enter paradise (fol. 43a):

وقد ذكر ابن فورك عن الشيخ أبي الحسن أنه كان لا يقطع بإعادة المجانين والبهائم وأنه كان يقول جائز أن يُعادوا ويدخلوا الجنة وجائز أن لا يعادوا وكذلك من لم تبلغه الدعوة مع أنه قد وردت أحاديث في إعادة البهائم وأنها تغير خلقتها وتدخل الجنة

This passage corresponds to Ibn Fūrak, *Mujarrad*, pp. 145, l. 9-14.

⁶⁵ See the discussion of the text's authenticity in Gimaret, "Un document majeur", pp. 194-201.

⁶⁶ Further personalities mentioned in the *Tasdīd* include Mālik b. Anas' teacher Ibn Hurmuz (fol. 74a), Ibn al-Nahhās (fols 64a, 73b), an unidentifiable *muṣannif al-Jumal* (fol. 62a) and others.

⁶⁷ See above fn. 25.

ticism and even rejection in fifth/eleventh-century North Africa. Al-Dībājī's work provides some valuable insight into specific debates. One passage in the *Tasdīd* sheds particular light on the fact that the adoption of Ash'arite theology was actually a controversial issue among Mālikī scholars in Qayrawān. Al-Dībājī points to a specific group of opponents labeled "jurists that adopt the method of *taqlīd* ('imitation')" (*al-muqallida min al-fuqahā*'), who appear to have categorically rejected the use of rational methods whilst appealing to Qayrawān's towering Mālikī jurist Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996) as their ultimate authority in doctrinal matters.

The passage of the *Tasdīd* in question is found in the discussion whether man's faith increases or decreases depending on his acts (fol. 87a). Al-Dībājī defends here the predominant Ash'arite position, according to which acts of obedience (*al-tā'a*) and sins (*al-ma'siya*) do not affect whether or not belief is ascribed to the person who commits them. He then goes on paraphrasing his opponents' objection that Ibn Abī Zayd in his influential epistle (*al-Risāla*) actually affirmed the contrary.⁶⁸ Al-Dībājī counters his opponents' objection by arguing that it is legitimate to contradict and correct even such authorities as Ibn Abī Zayd, whenever it can be demonstrated that they are mistaken. Turning the table on his detractors, he goes on to claim that a critical inquiry into others' arguments and reasoning was likewise fundamental to Ibn Abī Zayd's own scholarly approach. Accordingly, al-Dībājī portrays Ibn Abī Zayd as a true rationalist (*min ahl al-naẓar*) and supports this characterisation by evidence he found in refutations from the latter's pen against a certain Ibn al-Ṣiqillī (*ra'aytu bi-khaṭṭi-hi min taṣnīfāti-hi 'alā Ibn al-Ṣiqillī*) —most likely this refers to the two lost polemics against the Sicilian mystic 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī (fourth/tenth century), entitled *al-Istizhār fī l-radd 'alā l-Bakriyya* and *Kashf al-talbīs fī l-radd 'alā l-Bakriyya*.⁶⁹ In these treatises, al-Dībājī relates, Ibn Abī Zayd operates with a number of notions his anti-rationalist opponents among the Mālikī jurists categorically rejected. For example, Ibn Abī Zayd proposed in them a proof of the theory that accidents have no continuous existence (*ra'aytu bi-khaṭṭi-hi al-kalām*

⁶⁸ Cf. p. 24 of the *Risāla*'s Arabic edition and p. 25 of its French translation in al-Qayrawānī, *La Risāla*.

⁶⁹ On these works and their context see Fierro, "The Polemic About the *karāmāt al-awliyā*", pp. 240-241 and Miklos Muranyi's article "Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī" in *EI3*.

'alā anna l-a'rād lā tabqā wa-iqāmata-hu l-dalīl 'alā dhālik). Such discussions were, however, paradigmatic for *kalām* theology and consequently belonged to precisely the rational discourse of which al-Dībājī's detractors disapproved. In the light of later discussions on whether or not Ibn Abī Zayd was himself an Ash'arite, it should however be noted that al-Dībājī makes no attempt to claim him as an adherent of the school.⁷⁰

This relatively short passage gives a taste of the controversial reception of Ash'arite theology in fifth/eleventh-century Qayrawān. Obviously, traditionally inclined jurists objected that Ash'arite doctrines and the methodology of *kalām* was alien to and incompatible with the teaching of the local Mālikī school. Even after his death, the city's jurist Ibn Abī Zayd had a position of nearly normative authority. Accusing other Mālikīs of disagreeing with his teaching was a means for delegitimising divergent positions as heterodoxies. Yet this line of argument was not only employed by the traditionalist jurists, it could also be turned against them by proponents of Ash'arite theology.

IV.

In the final section of this paper we present a sample chapter from al-Dībājī's *Tasdīd* in the form of a brief introduction to its content and a critical edition. The passage deserves attention because al-Dībājī enters a controversial debate among Ash'arite theologians of his time. It is of particular relevance for interpreting the chapter that al-Bāqillānī's position in this controversy varied over the course of his life: the stance he took in the *Tamhīd* was revised by him at a later stage, and it is striking that al-Dībājī in his commentary on the *Tamhīd* adopts al-Bāqillānī's later position and reiterates some important arguments from al-Bāqillānī's reexamination of the issue.

The selected passage is entitled *Bāb al-kalām fī l-'illa al-'aqliyya wa-l-ḥukm al-'aqlī*, which could tentatively be translated as "Chapter

⁷⁰ Because of some significant doctrinal differences, recent scholarship tends to not regard Ibn Abī Zayd as an Ash'arite theologian. For an analysis of his theological positions and some sixth/twelfth-century discussions on whether or not he was an Ash'arite see Rahman, "The legal and theological thought of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī", specifically pp. 246-322 and Serrano, "Later Ash'arism in the Islamic West", p. 517.

on the rational grounds and predications [about beings]”. Interpreting the meaning behind our predications about beings was a highly controversial issue among Islamic theologians, specifically when it came to touch upon the question of what ontological reality is reflected in our attributing qualities to God. In this context, members of the Mu‘tazilite school of *kalām* introduced the concept of *aḥwāl* (“states”; sing. *ḥāl*), that was adopted by some Ash‘arite theologians, including al-Bāqillānī and al-Juwaynī.⁷¹ Al-Dībājī was also a proponent of the notion of *aḥwāl*, as he declares on fols 14b-15a of the *Tasdīd*:

قال رحمه الله جميع المعلومات على ضربين معدوم وموجود⁷² وهذه القسمة [١٥] صحيحة مستمرة مع القول بنفي الأحكام والعلل وأنا مع القول بإثباتها وليس هو مذهبه فيما علمته من سائر كتبه التي صنفها في أوائل عمره بل هو مذهب أبي هاشم ومن قال بمقالته وقد قال رحمه الله بذلك في آخر عمره وإذا قال بهذا احتاج في تقسيم المعلومات إلى زيادة ضرب ثالث وهو الحكم الذي ليس بموجود ولا معدوم باتفاق منا ومن المعتزلة

In this passage al-Dībājī confirms an account that is frequently found in Ash‘arite literature. Accordingly, al-Bāqillānī expressed in his earlier works his rejection of the *aḥwāl*. Only in his later works did he come to accept the concept originally developed by the Mu‘tazilite theologian Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā‘ī (d. 321/933). The *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* must have been written in this earlier period,⁷³ and it contains a whole chapter in refutation of Abū Hāshim’s and his followers’ theory.⁷⁴ For al-Bāqillānī’s later revision of his categorical rejection of *aḥwāl*, we have the evidence of his multi-volume but only fragmentarily preserved *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*.⁷⁵ In this text, he adopts a new understanding

⁷¹ For an analysis of al-Juwaynī’s theory see Frank, “*Al-Aḥkām*” and Benevich, “The Classical Ash‘ari Theory of *aḥwāl*”.

⁷² Quoted from al-Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd*, pp. 15, l. 4.

⁷³ It was suggested by Daniel Gimaret that the *Tamhīd* was written around 360/970; see Gimaret, “Théorie des *aḥwāl*”, pp. 76-77; Gimaret, *Théories de l’acte humain*, pp. 94-95; Gimaret, “Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d’Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī”, p. 259 (with further references).

⁷⁴ See the chapter *Bāb al-kalām fī l-aḥwāl ‘alā Abī Hāshim* in al-Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd*, pp. 200-203, §§339-344.

⁷⁵ Most relevant is the chapter *Kitāb al-sīfāt*, partly preserved in MS St Petersburg, The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, C329. We are most grateful to Sabine Schmidtke for sharing her copy of the text with us. For some preliminary observation on al-Bāqillānī’s notion of *aḥwāl* in his *Hidāya* see Thiele, “Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā‘ī’s (d. 321/933) Theory of ‘States’ (*aḥwāl*) and its Adaption by Ash‘arite Theologians”, pp. 377-382 and Thiele’s article “Ḥāl (theory of “states” in theology)” in *EI3*.

of the ontological reality found in objects about which we make specific predications—one that comprises two components: first an entity (*ma' nā*) that subsists in the object of predication,⁷⁶ for example “knowledge” (*ilm*), and second a reality distinct from such entities, namely the *aḥwāl*. In our example of “knowledge”, the corresponding *ḥāl* would be “being knowing” (*kawnu-hu 'ālīman*). The entity “knowledge” is the ground or cause (*'illa*) for the *ḥāl* (or alternatively the *ḥukm*) of “being knowing”. Whenever “knowledge” exists in an object, it necessarily entails the object’s “being knowing”. On the other hand, “being knowing” entails the existence of “knowledge”, although “entailing” (*iqtiḍā*) has a slightly different sense here: “being knowing” does not cause the entity of “knowledge” to be, it is rather evidence (*dalāla*) for its existence, such that whenever we describe somebody as “knowing”, an entity of knowledge must subsist in him.⁷⁷

Al-Dībājī opens his chapter on the “rational cause” or “ground” (*'illa 'aqliyya*) and the “predication” or “judgment” (*ḥukm*) it necessitates with a definition of these two notions (§1), and applies in it the same principle of reciprocal correlation as found in al-Bāqillānī’s reasoning: whenever the *'illa* is present, he says, the *ḥukm* must be present too and vice versa. This correlation is termed in Arabic *al-ṭard wa-l-'aks*.⁷⁸ Whilst al-Dībājī himself affirms the reality of *'illa* and *ḥukm*, he once again admits that this was not common ground among Ash‘arite theologians.

In view of the disapproval encountered from inside the Ash‘arite school, al-Dībājī offers a justification for his reasoning behind positing

⁷⁶ In the technical vocabulary of *kalām*, the term *ma' nā* refers to entities by virtue of which objects are described by specific qualities. A *ma' nā* always denotes something distinct from the object that deserves such qualifications. In the Ash‘arite context, the notion of *ma' nā* comprises accidents (*a' rāḍ*) and God’s entitative attributes (*ṣifāt*). See Frank, “The Ash‘arite Ontology”, pp. 213–215.

⁷⁷ See al-Bāqillānī, *Hidāya*, MS St Petersburg, fol. 62a: “*wa-innamā na' nī bi-qawli-nā anna l-'ilm yaqtaḍī kawn al-'ālim 'ālīman anna-hu yaḥṣulu 'ālīman 'inda wujūd al-'ilm lā maḥāla*” and fol. 62b: “*wa-ka-dhālika kawn al-'ālim 'ālīman yaqtaḍī wujūd al-'ilm wa-wujūd al-'ilm yaqtaḍī kawn-hu 'ālīman wa-kawnu-hu 'ālīman laysa bi-ma' nā mawjūd [...] wa-ayḍan fa-inna wujūd al-'ilm yaqtaḍī kawn al-'ālim 'ālīman 'alā ma' nā anna-hu 'illa li-kawni-hi 'ālīman wa-'alā wajh iqtidā' al-'illa li-l-ḥukm al-mu' allal [...] wa-yajūzu an yuqāl inna kawn al-'ālim 'ālīman yaqtaḍī wujūd al-'ilm 'alā ma' nā iqtidā' al-dalāla li-l-madlūl wa-inna-hu yadullu 'alā wujūd al-'ilm.*”

⁷⁸ For the terms *ṭard* and *'aks* in theological logic see El-Rouayheb, “Theology and Logic”, p. 409.

the reality of *‘illa* and *ḥukm*. His opponents would typically argue that attributing specific qualities to an object, such as predicating that somebody knows, merely expresses linguistically the presence of an ontologically real quality in the object of predication. In other words, describing somebody as “knowing” (*‘ālim*) would accordingly refer to an entity of “knowledge” (*‘ilm*) that subsists in the one who knows.⁷⁹ Why would one need to conceive of “knowing” as something real and distinct from “knowledge”? Al-Dībājī’s answer to this question is found in §2. The presence of “knowledge” (*‘ilm*), “capability of action” (*qudra*) or “movement” (*ḥaraka*), he argues, cannot be grounded in the entity that knows, is capable of acting or moving. For if objects possessed these qualities by virtue of themselves, one would have to concede the possibility that one entity necessitates another (*qawl bi-ta’līl al-dhawāt*), which is absurd according to *kalām* ontology. Rejecting causal chains was a topos in *kalām* literature, and here al-Dībājī explicitly aims to preclude positing an infinity of actual existents and ultimately the eternity of the world. Al-Dībājī therefore concludes that the presence of “knowledge”, “capability of action” and “movement” must be correlated with some other reality, namely that which is labeled *aḥkām* or *aḥwāl* (*fa-lam taḥṣul ‘alā mā ḥaṣalat ‘alay-hi illā li-ḥuṣūli-hā ‘alā aḥkām wa-aḥwāl*).⁸⁰ These *aḥkām* or *aḥwāl* comprise in the abovementioned concrete cases “the knower’s being knowing” (*kawn al-‘ālim ‘ālīman*), “the capable’s being capable” (*kawn al-qādir qādiran*), and “the moving’s being moving” (*kawn al-mutaḥarrik mutaḥarrikan*). They are caused or grounded in entitative qualities (*al-ṣifāt hiya l-‘ilal al-‘aqliyya*). In accordance with the principle outlined in §1, the dependence between *ṣifāt* and *aḥkām/aḥwāl* is a reciprocal one: whenever somebody possesses knowledge he must be knowing, and whenever somebody is knowing, he must be so by virtue of knowledge.

After advancing his argument in support of the *aḥkām/aḥwāl*, al-Dībājī goes on listing in §3 the criteria for us to identify something as *‘illa* and *ḥukm*:

⁷⁹ For the Ash‘arite *aḥwāl/aḥkām* opponents’ position see also below §8.

⁸⁰ The same reasoning is also echoed in al-Bāqillānī, *Hidāya*, MS St Petersburg, fols 63b-64a: “*wa-qad bayyannā anna l-dhawāt lā yaṣiḥḥu an tu‘allalu min ḥaythu hiya anfus wa-dhawāt wa-innamā tu‘allalu aḥwāl al-dhawāt wa-aḥkāma-hā.*”

– The *'illa* must be existent and cannot be non-existent, because the non-existent cannot possibly necessitate a *ḥukm* or *ḥāl* of an object.

– The *'illa* only necessitates a *ḥukm* of its own substrate and never of something else. A *'illa* cannot exist without necessitating a *ḥukm* of its substrate. On the other hand, a *ḥukm* is only actual whenever it is conjoined by its *'illa*.

– One single *'illa* cannot possibly be the cause of multiple qualities.

– A *ḥukm* can only be grounded in one single *'illa* and only in the *'illa* itself. It is therefore impossible that a *ḥukm* be actual by virtue of multiple grounds, or that it requires that its *'illa* possesses an additional qualification.

In §4 al-Dībājī continues his characterisation of the *ḥukm* and raises the central question of its ontological status. The discussion occupies more space than the foregoing list of criteria. Answering to the question whether or not a *ḥukm* has to fulfil the prerequisite of being existent—as is the case with its *'illa*—al-Dībājī explains that the *ḥukm* has an entirely distinct status: it cannot be possibly existent, for if the *ḥukm* were existent, it would come to be so by virtue of another existing entity, namely its *'illa*, and this would result in an infinite regress. On the other hand, the *ḥukm* cannot be non-existent either, since this would prevent the *ḥukm* from qualifying the object to which it pertains. Consequently the *ḥukm* is conceived by al-Dībājī as something knowable, whose reality cannot be described in terms of existence and non-existence (*al-ḥukm ma 'lūm laysa bi-mawjūd wa-lā ma 'dūm*).

Again, this conception of *aḥkam/aḥwāl* corresponds to that of al-Bāqillānī, the first Ash'arite theologian who incorporated the notion in his ontological framework.⁸¹ Thereby, he departed from the assumption of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī, who had introduced it into *kalām*.⁸² In §5, al-Dībājī points to this different understanding and explains Abū Hāshim's and his followers' reasoning behind negating the knowability of the *ḥāl*. For them, only things (*ashyā'*, sing. *shay'*) can be objects

⁸¹ See al-Bāqillānī, *Hidāya*, MS St Petersburg, fol. 35a: "If we affirm the *aḥwāl*, we must say that the *aḥwāl* are knowable—even if they are not discrete entities—just as discrete entities are knowable. In our view, knowledge of that which are not entities and are not described by non-existence and existence is possible." (*wa-in qulnā bi-l-aḥwāl wajaba l-qawl bi-anna l-aḥwāl ma 'lūma wa-in [lā] takūnu dhawātan munfaṣila ka-mā anna l-dhawāt al-munfaṣila ma 'lūma wa-qad yaṣihhu 'inda-nā l-'ilm bi-mā laysa bi-dhāt wa-bi-mā lā yūṣafu bi-'adam wa-lā wujūd*).

⁸² Frank, *Beings*, pp. 26-27.

of knowledge. Yet the definition of things only comprises entities that can be said to exist, and this consequently excludes the *ḥāl*.

In §6 al-Dībājī turns to further implications of the conception of *aḥkām* as being real yet without having existence. His actual purpose is to clarify that such *aḥkām* as “knowing” (*‘ālim*), “capable” (*qādir*) or “incapable of acting” (*‘ājiz*), “willing” (*murīd*) and “speaking” (*mutakallim*) are only distinct or opposed in a figurative sense. The reasoning behind this is that distinction and similarity can only be found between actual existents (*min sharṭ al-ghayrayn wa-l-mithlayn wa-l-khilāfayn an yakūnā mawjūdayn*) and therefore strictly speaking not between *aḥkām*.

Al-Dībājī eventually addresses in §7 the question how knowledge of a *‘illa* and a *ḥukm* is obtained. Traditionally, the epistemology of *kalām* distinguishes two ways of obtaining knowledge: immediate or “necessary” (*darūrī*) knowledge and knowledge gained by reasoning and proofs (*bi-l-naẓar wa-l-istidlāl*). Al-Dībājī provides examples of *‘ilal* that fall into the two categories. Yet knowledge of a *ḥukm* that is grounded in an immediately known *‘illa* is only obtained by reasoning and proofs.

Finally, in a sub-section (*faṣl*) appended to this chapter (§8), al-Dībājī summarises the position of the Ash‘arite *aḥwāl* opponents. For them predicating that “the knower is knowing” (*kawn al-‘ālim ‘āliman*) merely means that an entity of knowledge subsists in the object of predication. This entity of knowledge causes our describing it as knowing (*tasmiyatu-hu ‘āliman*) in a figurative sense only. There is, however, no necessary correlation between them, fundamentally for two reasons: first, the act of describing is itself an entity and can therefore not be necessitated by a *‘illa*; and second, such predications as “knowing” are not something of which we can mentally conceive or that we can know (*ghayr ma‘qūl wa-lā ma‘lūm*). In sum, “knowing” is not something real in itself because it does not verbalise any reality supplemental to the entity of knowledge that exists in the subject described as knowing. Apart from summarising the *aḥwāl* opponents’ angle, this sub-section also addresses—somewhat implicitly though—a very central question: what would be, from an Ash‘arite perspective, the actual purpose behind affirming the reality of the *ḥāl*? It actually served to establish the actual existence of God’s co-eternal attributes. Insofar, al-Dībājī concludes, the position of the deniers of *aḥwāl* is legitimate if they manage

to prove it reasonably. This is entirely coherent with al-Bāqillānī's stance in the *Hidāya*, where he takes an accommodating position towards the *aḥwāl* adversaries by not insisting on accepting the theory. Yet he advises these sceptics that “in no way does the affirmation of *aḥwāl* corrupt our teaching, it rather corroborates the very existence of God's ‘essential attributes’.”⁸³ He arrives at this conclusion by referring to al-Ash‘arī's proof for the existence of co-eternal attributes in God.⁸⁴ His argument is that such expressions as “being knowing” always express the same truth (*ḥaqīqa*), so that if we posit that man is knowing on account of “knowledge” that exists in him, the same must be true for God. According to al-Bāqillānī, this proof presupposes however the reality of *aḥwāl* (*wa-dhālika mabnī ‘alā l-qawl bi-l-aḥwāl*), for it actually postulates a correlation between the feature common to man and God—namely “being knowing”—and the entity of “knowledge”, for which it is evidence. Were “being knowing” not a reality distinct from “knowledge” but rather a mere affirmation of the existence of “knowledge”, al-Ash‘arī's proof for the existence of God's co-eternal knowledge would be circular reasoning.⁸⁵

باب الكلام في العلة العقلية والحكم العقلي

§ 1 وإذا قلنا في الحدّ ما قدّمناه فإنّنا نضيف إليه ما يشبهه في الطرد والعكس وهو العلة العقلية إذا قلنا أنّ في العقل حكماً وعلّة وإذا لم نقل بهذا كان هذا الباب محذوفاً والقولان لشيوخنا رضي الله عنهم

§ 2 فوجه القول بأنّ في العقل حكماً وعلّة هو أنّ الذوات حصلت على ما حصلت عليه من كون القديم منها قديماً والمحدث محدثاً والصفة صفة والموصوف موصوفاً والمتعلّق بما هو متعلّق به متعلّقاً به وغير المتعلّق غير متعلّق والحسن حسن والقبیح قبيحاً ومحال أن تكون حصلت على ما حصلت عليه لكونها أنفساً وذواتاً لأنّ ذلك قول بتعليل الذوات فلم تحصل على ما حصلت عليه إلّا لحصولها على أحكام وأحوال وذلك نحو كون العالم عالماً وكون القادر قادراً وكون المتحرّك متحرّكاً فالعلم والقدرة والإرادة والحركة وما أشبه ذلك من الصفات هي العلل العقلية التي من شرطها أن تكون مطردة منعكسة كالحدّ المتقدّم ذكره فاطرأها أنّ كلّ علم ولأجله كان العالم عالماً وانعكاسها أنّ كلّ ما كان العالم لأجله عالماً فهو علم

⁸³ Al-Bāqillānī, *Hidāya*, MS St Petersburg, fol. 66b: “*wa-laysa fī l-qawl bi-l-aḥwāl mā yuḥṣidu ‘alay-nā madhhaba-nā bal huwa mu‘akkid li-ithbāt ṣifāt dhāti-hi ta ‘ālā*.”

⁸⁴ For al-Ash‘arī's proof of God's co-eternal attributes, see Gimaret, *Doctrine*, pp. 272-276.

⁸⁵ Al-Bāqillānī, *Hidāya*, MS St Petersburg, fol. 66b.

§4 فإن قيل فقد بينتم أن شرط العلة العقلية أن تكون موجودة فهل من شرط الحكم العقلي أن يكون موجوداً قلنا ليس ذلك من شرطه بل من شرطه أن لا يكون موجوداً لأن متى كان موجوداً وكان وجوده عن علة هي موجودة أدى ذلك إلى تعليل الذوات وانتهى إلى وجود ما⁸⁷ لا يتناهى ووجود ما⁸⁸ لا يتناهى في زمان متناه⁸⁹ محال فثبت بهذا أن الحكم يجب أن يقال أنه معلوم لمن علمه مجهول لمن جهله ولا يقال أنه موجود لأن القول بوجوده يؤدي إلى تعليل الذوات وقد أثبتنا⁹⁰ فساده ولا يقال أنه معدوم لأن عدمه قد بينا أن تعلقه بالذوات تعلّق متساو فلا وجه لاختصاصه بإحداها دون الآخر فجاء ممّا ذكرناه أن الحكم معلوم ليس بموجود ولا معدوم

§5 وعند أبي هاشم ومن قال بقوله في إثبات هذه الأحكام والأحوال أنها لا معلومة ولا مجهولة ولا موجودة [ولا معدومة] والذي دعاه إلى القول بأنها ليست معلومة ولا مجهولة ما يذهب إليه من أن المعلوم لا يكون إلا شيئاً فهو يقول أنها ليست بأشياء ولا موجودات فلماذا قال أنها ليست بمعلومات ولا مجهولات

§6 وقولنا حكم العالم غير حكم القادر وحكم المريد غير حكم المتكلم جار على الأحكام على سبيل المجاز لما قدّمناه من أن الأحكام ليست بموجودات ومن شرط الغيرين والمثلين والخالفين أن يكونا موجودين على مطابقة في هذا يأتي ذكرها في موضعها وإذا أثبت هذا بما سلف من قولنا أن الأحكام ليست بموجودات ثبت أنه لا يقال حكم العالم غير حكم القادر إلا على سبيل المجاز وكذلك لا يقال حكم العالم حكم مثل العالم [٥] إلا على سبيل المجاز ولا يقال حكم القادر مضاد لحكم العاجز إلا على سبيل المجاز لما بيناه من أن سبيل المتضادات والمخالفات والمتغايرات أن تكون موجودات ولعلنا أن نبسط القول في هذا وندلّ على الحقيقة فيه عند بلوغنا إلى ما يقتضيه من الكتاب إن شاء الله

§7 والعلّة العقلية قد تعلم ضرورة كنحو علمنا بالحركة ولا يعلم حكمها ضرورة بل بالنظر والاستدلال وقد تعلم العلة أيضاً بالنظر والاستدلال كعلمنا بوجود علم العالم وقدرة القادر وعجز العاجز وما أشبه ذلك ولا بدّ من كونها معلومة على كلّ حال وهي في هذا مخالفة للشرعية التي تكون مضمونه على ما سنبيّنه إن شاء الله

فصل

§8 وإذا قلنا أنه ليس في العقل حكم ولا علة حذفنا جميع ما قدّمناه من الكلام على العلة العقلية وعلى أحكامها وقلنا أن كون العالم عالماً ليس شيء أكثر من وجود علم بذاته الموجبة لتسميته عالماً على أن إيجاب العلل التسميات على سبيل المجاز لأنّ العلل ذوات والتسميات ذوات وأنّ الحكم الذي يقوله مثبته غير معقول ولا معلوم بل ما نعلم أكثر من وجود العلم بالعالم ولا حكم هناك يجب عن العلم وقد ذهب إلى هذا⁹¹ الطريق كثير من شيوخنا رضي الله عنهم وصحّ لهم مع القول بها إثبات علم القديم تعالى وسائر صفاته بالأدلة القاطعة ولم يخلّ إنكار القول بالعلل والأحكام فإقامتهم واضح الأدلة على إثبات صفات القديم

⁸⁶ نظامه MS.

⁸⁷ وجودها MS.

⁸⁸ وجودها MS.

⁸⁹ منتهاه MS.

⁹⁰ ابنا MS.

⁹¹ هذه MS.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed a unique manuscript copy of a Maghribī commentary on the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* by the fourth/tenth-century Ash'arite chief theologian Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī. We have established that the commentary, entitled *al-Tasdīd fī sharḥ al-Tamhīd*, is attributable to the Qayrawānī scholar 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Dībājī. Internal textual evidence gives us an estimated date for the composition of this commentary around the time of the Banū Hilāl's invasion of Qayrawān in the 440s/1050s. This allowed us to conclude that al-Dībājī's commentary is one of the oldest surviving works of Ash'arite *kalām* from the Islamic west.

The *Tasdīd* is a valuable first-hand source of the early history of Ash'arite *kalām* and specifically its transmission to the Islamic west. It confirms a narrative that has as yet been known only via secondary reports, namely that Ash'arite theology was brought to Qayrawān by al-Bāqillānī's own students, and that the teaching of the *Tamhīd* came to be a central text for the study of *kalām* in North Africa. Al-Dībājī himself studied with al-Bāqillānī's disciples, and his *Tasdīd* relates some specific details about his education in *kalām*. In addition, al-Dībājī's commentary contains a number of citations that add to our knowledge about the circulation of Ash'arite works in fifth/eleventh-century Qayrawān. These titles include works by the school's founder Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, by al-Bāqillānī, and notably also the earliest historical quotation that affirms Ibn Fūrak's authorship of *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Ash'arī*.

The *Tasdīd* also allowed us to examine some of al-Dībājī's own theological positions. A particularly interesting find of our study is that his claims were sometimes in contradiction with the *Tamhīd*, that is, the text upon which his commentary was written. We have shown by way of some specific examples that al-Dībājī adopted in fact several theories and arguments that al-Bāqillānī had revised only after the completion of his *Tamhīd*. This is for instance the case with al-Dībājī's theory of the human act and—as discussed in some more detail—with his arguments in support of the conception of predication about beings as ontologically real features, termed *aḥwāl*. With regard to these doctrines, we have shown that al-Dībājī's positions actually echo theories that al-Bāqillānī exposed in his multi-volume compendium of *kalām*.

entitled *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*. Our primary sources about the early history of Ash‘arism and specifically about discussions on such controversial issues as the theory of *aḥwāl* are limited. Al-Dībājī’s *Tasdīd* therefore offers some useful new perspectives on the Ash‘arite school’s historical and doctrinal developments.

VI. Appendix: A Biographical Sketch of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Adharī

In many respects, the historical figure of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥātim al-Adharī remains obscure to modern scholarship. Considering his central role in the transmission of al-Bāqillānī’s theology in the Maghrib in general, and al-Dībājī’s formation in particular, we append here a short biography of al-Adharī. We are not aware of any surviving account of his life in historical biographical sources. It is therefore not surprising to find only very limited information about him in modern studies. Perhaps the best informed collection of biographical notes about al-Adharī is found in Muḥammad Maḥfūz’s *Tarājim al-mu’allifīn al-Tūnisiyyīn*.⁹²

Confusion about al-Adharī already starts with the correct spelling of his *nisba*. Its two possible readings have direct implications on further assumption about our scholar’s origin: whereas “al-Azdī” would trace his descent to the south Arabian tribe of Azd, “al-Adharī” would point to an Azerbaijani origin. Modern scholars have tended to the former reading, even against witnesses of the writing الأذري (or without diacritical marks: الأدرى) as found in manuscripts and critical editions.⁹³ Yet there is sufficient evidence for his actual Persian background and, consequently, for concluding that the reading “al-Adharī” is correct. One such indications is found in a marginal note in an eighth/four-

⁹² Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, pp. 42-46, no. 8 (an earlier version of this entry was published as Maḥfūz, “al-Azdī am al-Adharī?”).

⁹³ For example, Idris and Fórneas both opt for the reading “al-Azdī”, despite many conflicting instances quoted in Idris, *La berbérie orientale*, vol. 2, p. 703, note 82 and Fórneas Besteiro, “De la transmisión”, pp. 10-11, notes 62, 65, 66—namely Amari, *Appendice alla Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, p. 47 (Arab.), the 1967 Beirut edition of al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, vol. 2 (= part iii and iv), p. 586 and the manuscript of qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s *Ghunya* quoted by Fórneas; still, Idris and Fórneas both opt for the reading al-Azdī (likewise Idris, “La vie intellectuelle en Ifriqiya méridionale”, p. 102). Ibn Bashkwāl, *al-Sila*, vol. 2, p. 425, no. 921 in the edition of Codera Zaidīn also reads الأذري. For a discussion of the correct reading see also Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, pp. 42-46.

teenth-century manuscript copy of Ibn 'Asākir's (d. 571/1176) *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*: it quotes from an apparently lost passage of *Iqtibās al-anwār fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba wa-ruwāt al-āthār*, a work by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Lakhmī al-Rushāfī (d. 520/1145 or 542/1147), a scholar from Almeria. Al-Rushāfī's biographical note corroborates that in the case of our scholar, the proper spelling of the *nisba* is al-Adharī and refers to Azerbaijan.⁹⁴ Another confirmation of al-Adharī's Persian origin is also found in the manuscript of his student's *al-Tasdīd fī sharḥ al-Tamhīd*—which actually spells the name consistently as الاذري:⁹⁵ al-Dībājī quotes his teacher reporting that he spent significant time during his earlier education attending the classes of teachers in Rayy and Ṭabaristān in Northern Iran (fol. 70b).

At some point, al-Adharī left Northern Iran to continue his formation in Baghdad. He studied there with two towering masters of his time. As is well known, the first was al-Bāqillānī, whose study circles he attended for a period of thirteen years according to the *Tasdīd* (fol. 70b). Al-Adharī's second prominent teacher was the famous grammarian Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/945), from whom he transmitted al-Mutanabbī's (d. 354/965) poetry.⁹⁶ Apparently, al-Bāqillānī appreciated his student's expertise as a linguist and reportedly asked him to polish his books stylistically.⁹⁷

The first reports about al-Adharī's teaching activities are found in Ibn 'Asākir's *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* and *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*.⁹⁸ Both works contain the same anecdote and relate that Abū l-Ḥasan b. Dāwud al-Dārānī (d. 402/1101), the then *imām* of the Great Mosque in Damascus, was concerned about the presence of a number of proponents of Ḥanbalī theology (*ba'd al-Ḥashwiyya*) in his mosque. He therefore addresses a request to al-Bāqillānī, asking him to send one of his companions from Baghdad in order to instruct these people. Ibn

⁹⁴ The marginal note that cites al-Rushāfī's *Iqtibās al-anwār* is quoted by Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, p. 45: *al-Adharī mansūb ilā Ādharbayjān Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn b. Ḥātim*. For al-Rushāfī's work, surviving manuscript copies and available editions of it see HATA VI. Geografia. Historia, no. 388.2.

⁹⁵ See the passages quoted in fn. 27.

⁹⁶ See Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, p. 45 quoting al-Tujībī al-Barqī, *al-Mukhtār*, p. 153.

⁹⁷ Ibn 'Aṭiyya, *Fihris*, p. 76, also quoted by Fórneas Besteiro, "De la transmisión", p. 7.

⁹⁸ Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, p. 44 quoting Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, pp. 216-217. The anecdote is furthermore found in Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 41, p. 471 (we owe this information to Paula Manstetten).

‘Asākir goes on narrating that al-Bāqillānī sent his student al-Adharī, who held sessions in Ibn Dāwud’s study circle in order to dissuade the so-called Ḥashwiyya folk from their anthropomorphised conception of God—reportedly with great success. It was possibly during this stay in Syria that al-Adharī also heard prophetic traditions from the Damascene *ḥadīth* scholar and author of *al-Fawā’id*, Abū l-Qāsim Tammām b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Rāzī (d. 414/1023).⁹⁹

Still according to Ibn ‘Asākir’s account, after this episode al-Adharī settled in Qayrawān and remained there for the rest of his life. He engaged in teaching Ash‘arite *kalām* and legal methodology, and transmitted the works of his teacher al-Bāqillānī as well as his own writings. Several reports stress that, when sojourning in the North African city, al-Adharī had already left his homeland fifty years previously—that is roughly sometime before the 370s/980s.¹⁰⁰ This detail was considered worth narrating in order to indicate al-Adharī’s almost unquenchable thirst for seeking knowledge and transmitting it, and to emphasise his absolute devotion to scholarship (*wa-lam akun fī-hā illā ‘alā kūr jamāl aw bayt funduq aṭlubu al-‘ilm ākhidhan la-hu aw ma’khūdhan ‘an-nī*).

Aside from al-Dībājī, a number of al-Adharī’s students in Qayrawān are recorded in the sources. Most of them were instructed by him in theology and legal methodology, but we also know the example of Abū Ṭāhir Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad b. Ziyādat Allāh al-Tujībī al-Barqī (d. after 441/1049), who studied al-Mutanabbī’s poetry with al-Adharī.¹⁰¹ However, the focus of his classes seems to have been on *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*. At least, these appear to be the two fields in which al-Adharī’s teaching had the strongest impact. One of his students in *kalām* was Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ‘Atīq b. Abī Naṣr Hibbat Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Mālīk al-Tamīmī—an Ash‘arite theologian, known as Ibn Abī Kudya—or Kadiyya—al-Tamīmī al-Qayrawānī (d. 512/1119).¹⁰² Based on *isnāds* for specific books, it is possible to de-

⁹⁹ See the two *isnāds* occurring on fol. 62b of the *Tasdīd*.

¹⁰⁰ Calculating some fifty years before al-Adharī’s death in 423/1031-2. This period of absence from his homeland is recorded by Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tabyīn*, pp. 120-121 on the authority of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. ‘Ammār al-Mayūrqī, who quotes several unidentified teachers who studied with al-Adharī; see Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, p. 43.

¹⁰¹ See the references cited in fn. 96.

¹⁰² See Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, p. 46, and the sources he quotes, namely Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, vol. 4, p. 421; al-Dhahabī, *Ma‘rifat al-qurrā’ al-kibār*, vol. 1, p. 468. This is also confirmed by Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 54, pp.

termine the content of al-Adharī's lectures more precisely. Abū Sulaymān Ibn al-Qadīm studied al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd* with al-Adharī.¹⁰³ As is also shown by al-Dībājī's *Tasdīd*, the *Tamhīd* was not the only work by al-Bāqillānī that circulated at that time in Qayrawān, and al-Adharī actively contributed to their transmission. This is confirmed by the case of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Lajālīsh al-Mariyyī al-Naḥwī (d. c. 490/1096), who received an *ijāza* for al-Bāqillānī's complete body of works.¹⁰⁴ Al-Adharī licensed him also to transmit his own *al-Lāmi 'fī uṣūl al-fiqh*.¹⁰⁵ Additional students of his who transmitted the *Lāmi* 'include Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Qayrawānī¹⁰⁶ and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ni'ma al-Ābid (d. 481 or 482/1088 or 1089).¹⁰⁷

To the inventory of al-Adharī's works can be added a second book quoted in *'Uyūn al-munāẓarāt* by the seventh to eighth/thirteenth to fourteenth-century theologian from Tunis, Abū 'Alī 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Sakūnī (d. 717/1317-18). His work contains two larger citations of a treatise by al-Adharī based on al-Bāqillānī's *Manāqib*.¹⁰⁸

188-190, who adds the information that Ibn Abī Kudya studied *uṣūl* with al-Adharī in Qayrawān and later settled in Baghdad and lectured at the city's Nizāmiyya *madrasa*. Hence, he is yet another example for intellectual exchanges between the two cities. He was specifically known for his expertise in al-Bāqillānī's *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn* (on this work see Gimaret, "Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d'Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī" and Schmidtke, "Early Aṣ'arite Theology"). See also the biography of al-Adharī in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā l-kabīr*, vol. 6, pp. 102-103. According to al-Ghubrīnī, *'Unwān al-dirāya*, pp. 395-396, Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī studied one of al-Bāqillānī's books—most likely the *Tamhīd*—with Ibn Abī Kudya ("Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī").

¹⁰³ Ibn 'Aṭiyya, *Fihris*, p. 76; Fórneas Besteiro, "*Al-Tamhīd* de al-Bāqillānī", p. 436.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn 'Aṭiyya, *Fihris*, p. 76; Fórneas Besteiro, "*Al-Tamhīd* de al-Bāqillānī", pp. 435-436.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn 'Aṭiyya, *Fihris*, p. 73; Fórneas Besteiro, "De la transmisión", p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ Amari, *Appendice alla Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, p. 47 (Arab.); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, p. 42; Ibn Bashkwāl, *al-Šila*, p. 425; see also Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, p. 45. The Cordoban 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rabī'ī al-Šiqillī, who, according to Fórneas Besteiro, "De la transmisión", p. 7, studied the *Lāmi* 'with al-Adharī actually heard it from Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Qayrawānī.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn 'Aṭiyya, *Fihris*, p. 73; Fórneas Besteiro, "De la transmisión", p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ al-Sakūnī al-Ishbīlī, *'Uyūn al-munāẓarāt*, pp. 236-237 and 244-246 (*ḥakā Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Adharī tilmīdh al-Qāḍī Abī Bakr Ibn Ṭayyib fī kitābi-hi alladhī ṣannafa-hu fī Manāqib al-Qāḍī raḍīya llāh 'an-hu*), also mentioned by Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, p. 45. *Manāqib* refers to al-Bāqillānī's virtues, so this text should not be confused with al-Bāqillānī's *Manāqib al-a'imma al-arba'a*, which has partially survived. The latter work deals with the issue of the legitimate leadership in the Muslim community (al-Bāqillānī, *Manāqib*).

However, this book does not appear to have known the same degree of dissemination as the *Lāmi*‘, which was even cited by some scholars from the Mashriq. For example, the ninth/fifteenth-century Ḥanbalī jurist Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Sulaymān al-Mardāwī (d. 885/1480-1), who was active in Damascus, quotes it in his *al-Taḥbīr sharḥ al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-fiqh*.¹⁰⁹ Additional quotations are found in al-Zarkashī’s *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*. One of them is particularly worth mentioning, since it introduces al-Adharī as follows: “al-Bāqillānī’s student Ibn Ḥātim, who was one of our peers (*min aṣḥābi-nā*), posited in his book *al-Lāmi* ‘...’.”¹¹⁰ Considering that al-Zarkashī was a Shāfi‘ī, we should conclude that al-Adharī was a Shāfi‘ī, too. This is remarkable, considering his choice to settle in an environment dominated by the Mālikī school of law, and the fact that he obviously acquired a high scholarly reputation in Qayrawān. On the other hand, we know of a number of Mālikī scholars with an avid interest in studying Shāfi‘ī legal methodology, which was indeed profoundly influenced by Ash‘arite teaching. Having said that, these interactions across schools of law were in most cases the result of Maghribī scholars studying in the Mashriq. In this sense, al-Adharī is a rather exceptional reversed case of a Shāfi‘ī master who settled in the Maghrib.

Al-Adharī died in Qayrawān, according to al-Rushāṭī in the year 423/1031-2.¹¹¹

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¹⁰⁹ al-Mardāwī, *al-Taḥbīr*, vol 3, p. 279.

¹¹⁰ al-Zarkashī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, vol. 2, p. 25; short passages from the *Lāmi*‘ are furthermore quoted vol. 4, pp. 82 and 102; in addition, vol. 2, p. 19 and vol. 4, p. 47 contain reports about al-Adharī on the authority of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Māzarī. The latter repeatedly refers to al-Adharī and “his book” (i.e. the *Lāmi*‘) in al-Māzarī, *Īdāḥ al-maḥṣūl*, pp. 148, 210, 217, 336, 338, 492.

¹¹¹ The date of al-Adharī’s death is recorded in the lost biography in al-Rushāṭī’s *Iqtibās al-anwār* as reproduced in the margin of a manuscript copy of *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* and quoted by Maḥfūz, *Tarājim*, vol. 1, p. 45.

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